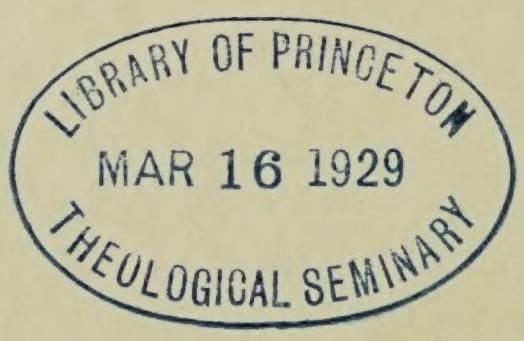
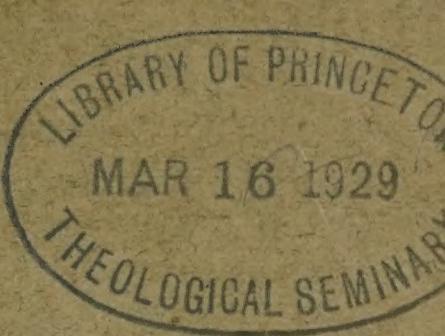


PR3332
.H31



Division PR3332

Section .H31



JOHN BUNYAN

AND

THE HIGHER CRITICISM

BY

J. RENDEL HARRIS, LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.

Reprinted from "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,"
Vol. 12, No. 2, July, 1928

MANCHESTER: THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 23 LIME GROVE, OXFORD ROAD. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO. LTD., 39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C., NEW YORK, TORONTO, CALCUTTA, BOMBAY & MADRAS.
MCMXXVIII. PRICE ONE SHILLING NET

REPRINTS OF ARTICLES WHICH APPEARED ORIGINALLY IN THE "BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY."

With scarcely an exception these monographs embody the results of new and original investigations by scholars of the highest eminence, who have thereby imparted a fresh stimulus to study in their respective fields of research.

Demy 8vo. One Shilling *net* each, unless otherwise stated.

CLASSICAL.

- CONWAY (R. S.), Litt.D., F.B.A. The Architecture of the Epic. 1925. Pp. 20. 1s. 6d.
— The Country Haunts of Horace. 1928. Pp. 9 and 5 illustrations.
— A Graeco-Roman Tragedy. 1926. Pp. 21.
— The Philosophy of Vergil. 1922. Pp. 18.
— The Portrait of a Roman Gentleman in Livy. 1922. Pp. 16.
— The Venetian Point of View in Roman History. 1917-18. Pp. 22.
— Under Hannibal's Shadow. 1924. Pp. 20. 1s. 6d.
— Where was Vergil's Farm? 1923. Pp. 27. 10 illustrations. 1s. 6d.
— The Youth of Vergil. 1915. Pp. 28.
GRENFELL (B. P.), D.Litt., F.B.A. The Present Position of Papyrology. 1921. Pp. 21.
HARRIS (J. RENDEL), Litt.D., D.Theol., etc. Apollo's Birds. 1925. Pp. 48. With illustrations. 1s. 6d.
— The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite. 1916. Pp. 30. With 9 illustrations.
— The Origin of the Cult of Apollo. 1916. Pp. 40. With frontispiece and illustrations.
— The Origin of the Cult of Artemis. 1916. Pp. 39. With illustrations.
— The Origin of the Cult of Dionysos. 1915. Pp. 17. With illustrations.
— The Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults. 1919. Pp. 52. With illustrations. 2s.
— Scylla and Charybdis. 1925. Pp. 34. 1s. 6d.
LAISTNER (M. L. W.), M.A. Notes on Greek from the Lectures of a Ninth Century Monastery Teacher. 1923. Pp. 36.
— Martinus Capella and his Ninth Century Commentators. 1925. Pp. 9.
POSTGATE (J. P.), Litt.D., F.B.A. New Light upon Lucretius. 1926. Pp. 16.
SOUTER (ALEXANDER), M.A., D.Litt. List of Abbreviations and Contractions, etc., in the John Rylands Library Latin Manuscript, No. 15. 1919. Pp. 7.

HISTORICAL.

- BRUTON (F. A.), M.A., Litt.D. The Story of Peterloo. Written for the centenary, 16th August, 1919. 8vo, pp. 45. With plates. 2s.
CRUMP (C. G.). A Note on the Criticism of Records. 1924. Pp. 10.
DAVIS (H. W. C.), C.B.E., M.A., F.B.A. Lancashire Reformers, 1816-17. 1926. Pp. 35. 1s. 6d.
FISH (T.). The Cult of King Dungi during the Third Dynasty of Ur. 1927. Pp. 7.
— The Contemporary Cult of Kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. 1928. Pp. 8.
— A Sumerian Wage-List of the Ur Dynasty. With facsimile. 1925. Pp. 8.
— Some Sumerian Tablets in the J. R. L. 1924. Pp. 8. With facsimiles.
HARRIS (J. RENDEL), Litt.D., D.Theol., etc. Early Colonists of the Mediterranean. 1926. Pp. 34. 1s. 6d.
— Further Traces of Hittite Migration. 1927. Pp. 22.
— Three Letters of John Eliot, and a Bill of Lading of the "Mayflower." 1919. 8vo, pp. 11. With frontispiece.
HIGHAM (C. S. S.), M.A. List of Diplomatic Visitors to England preserved in the Mainwaring MSS. 1926. Pp. 13.
JOHNSTONE (HILDA), M.A. The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, Son of Edward I. 1923. Pp. 37.
MINGANA (A.), D.D. A Charter of Protection granted to the Nestorian Church in A.D. 1138 by Muktaf II., Caliph of Baghdad. 1926. Pp. 15. 1s. 6d.
— List of the Turkish Governors and High Judges of Aleppo from the Ottoman Conquest to A.D. 1747. 1926. Pp. 9.
— A Page of Indian History in 1707-1720. 1924. Pp. 16.
PERRY (W. J.), B.A. War and Civilisation. 1917-18. 8vo, pp. 27. With 9 Sketch Maps.
POWICKE (FREDERICK J.), M.A., Ph.D. Eleven Letters of John, Second Earl of Lauderdale (and First Duke), 1616-82, to the Rev. Richard Baxter (1615-91). 1922. Pp. 33.
— Another Lauderdale Letter. 1926. Pp. 8.
— New Light on an Old English Presbyterian and Bookman: Thomas Hall, 1610-1665. 1924. Pp. 25.
RAND (E. K.), Ph.D., D.Litt. St. Martin of Tours. 1927. Pp. 9.
SHARP (MARGARET), M.A. A Jodrell Deed and the Seals of the Black Prince. 1922. Pp. 12. With 3 illustrations.

JOHN BUNYAN AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.

THE title which I have assigned to this essay is ambiguous in its meaning, and to that extent misleading. It might be taken to imply that John Bunyan had said something on the vexed questions that pass under the collective name of Higher Criticism, whereas a very little reflection on and familiarity with the life and writings of that great and good man would show him to be as innocent of any contact with the perplexities and confusions of the critical world as a babe in arms, or a boy in his early teens (if, indeed, the schoolboy now-a-days does escape the epidemic). So the title must be understood, not in the sense of an enquiry as to what the great preacher and allegorist thought and said about the Higher Criticism, but what the Higher Criticism has to say about the writings of John Bunyan. In other words, we are moving the battle-field of criticism from the Biblical writings, where the clash and play of swords is becoming somewhat tedious, and we propose to transfer it to a period some sixteen centuries later, and to a theme where the use of Greek and Latin weapons of warfare is severely prohibited.

We do this in the interests of the Christian community, who are sore perplexed to hear that this document is interpolated, and that the other is pseudepigraphic and bears a name which is certainly not that of the author ; who are told that St. Peter did not write the second epistle that goes under his name until long after his death, and that perhaps he did not even write the first epistle when he was alive ; that St. Paul's epistles, especially the most famous, are an artificial rag-bag of documents badly assorted, and roughly stitched together ; and that in the time when the New Testament was in the process of formation, it was considered good manners to appropriate other people's writings and re-issue them under your own name, or to write books oneself and issue them under the names of saint and seer more worthy than

oneself of respectful attention. All of which is distressing to the average Christian man, who thinks the heavens are falling if an authorship is disturbed or changed, and has not attained to the philosophic calm of the just man in Horace whom the Heavens, when they do fall, find content and undisturbed amid the celestial wreckage.

So it becomes worth while to remind our timid, or imperfectly philosophical friends, that there are other areas of literature, and of religious literature, where they can observe for themselves the working of critical processes, and test their validity, without running the risk of being reminded that some people aspire to be critics who are not even university graduates. For that purpose, at once of instruction and consolation, we take the writings of John Bunyan, books which had an evangelical circulation as well as an evangelical vitality, and we make the usual inquisitive demands concerning the literature in question, as for instance, whether all that goes under his name was written by him, whether any of his works have been subject to the accretions of the interpolator, or whether, on the other hand, passages have been deleted by himself or his friends, and the like.

To many people such questions are entirely, or almost entirely in the air. They do not know John Bunyan's voluminous writings, running from the *Gospel Truths Opened* of 1656 right up to his death in 1688. They have read the *Pilgrim's Progress* but without realising that a number of years elapsed between the publication of the First Part and the Second Part : they have, perhaps, looked into the imagery of the *Holy War*, or have read that amazing book of spiritual autobiography, the *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, without detecting that large additions were made to this noble spiritual story, in order to refute a shameful slander, and cast down the Accuser of the Brethren. Very few people know more of Bunyan than these three works, if they are fortunate to know as much. It is clear that such a body of literature as is constituted by the Bunyan writings must be critically treated. Those of his works which are undoubtedly genuine must be treated to the Lower Criticism, in order to determine what was the actual language of the writer ; all of them are subject to the Higher Criticism, in order to verify or contradict the authorship assigned to them. For example, in the *Pilgrim's Progress* in the famous scene where the Pilgrims escape from Doubting Castle, they come at last to the great iron gate of the castle, and we are told that

THE
ADVANTAGES
AND
DISADVANTAGES,
OF THE
MARRIAGE-STATE,

As Enter'd into with
Religious or Irreligious Persons,
Delivered under the Similitude of a

DREAM:

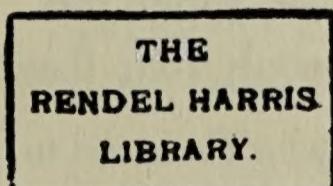
With NOTES Explanatory and Improving.

By J. BUNYAN Minister of the Gospel.

The Sixth Edition, with Additions of New
CUTS.

BOSWORTH;
Printed by ROBERT GRIMLEY, for the
Author; And Sold by Mr. Ward and
Mrs. POOLE in Hinkley, Mrs.
JANE NEWBERRY in Hugglescoat, and most
Book sellers in the Country.

Printed in the Year MDCCLXXV.



the lock of that gate went ‘damnable hard’; there are, however, editions which take a milder view of it; for instance, in an edition published at the price of twopence for Sunday Schools, it is said, ‘that lock went very hard’; and the lower criticism decides at once in favour of the harder reading. This is only a specimen: it shows that there are various recensions of the *Pilgrim’s Progress*, just as there are varying manuscripts of the New Testament.

In the same way, when we find an edition which omits the incident of Giant Pope and the closely related Giant Pagan, crouching in their cave and biting their nails at the Pilgrims, we shall probably¹ find upon examination that it is an edition brought out under Roman Catholic auspices, and draw the conclusion that ‘the shorter reading is not necessarily the earlier reading,’ and say that ‘when the cause of the variant is known the variant itself will disappear.’ But let us turn to the Higher Criticism and to questions of authorship.

First of all we find that there is quite a body of works wrongly ascribed to John Bunyan, and that he himself warned his readers against them. Before Bunyan had brought his *Second Part* in 1684, some one had forged a second part for him under the title

The Second Part of the Pilgrim’s Progress, from this present World of Wickedness and Misery to an Eternity of Holiness and Felicity, exactly described under the Similitude of a Dream, etc.

It was this piece of piracy, which prompted the lines at the beginning of the genuine Second Part, where Bunyan says,

‘tis true some have, of late, to Counterfeit
My pilgrim, to their own, my Title set;
Yea, Others, half my name and Title too;
Have sticked to their Books to make them do;
But yet they, by their Features do declare
Themselves not mine to be, whose’er they are.²

So that Bunyan was obliged to invoke the ‘argument from style’ to protect himself. When we apply the ‘argument from style’ to Biblical writings we are commonly told that nothing is so uncertain,

¹ Probably but not certainly. There is an early Methodist Pilgrim’s Progress which makes the same omissions!

² I don’t quite know what Bunyan means by ‘half my name’; does the ‘added title’ mean *Minister of the Gospel*? or does he mean the title-page with its illustrations and portrait? The allusions appear to require more than a single imitator or forger.

that one man has many styles, and that the same person was the author of the *Biglow Papers* and the *Vision of Sir Launfal*. In the case before us we are told by the author of the genuine books himself, to distinguish the fallacious books 'by their Features,' but the first person to mark the difference is Bunyan himself. No doubt when he brought out his own second part, everyone of any taste could see the difference also. The fictitious book disappeared on its merits, which establishes the justice of the argument from style.

When St. Paul was writing his second epistle to the Thessalonians which must have followed very rapidly upon the first, as fast as the postal arrangements between Athens and Salonika would permit, he interjected a note of warning to his friends. They were not to assume either as the result of spiritual utterances or reasoned discourse in their meetings, or by a letter professing to come from ourselves, that the Day of the Lord is actually at hand. The natural inference is that someone has been producing a second part to the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and that St. Paul has been aware of it. It will be said that it is unthinkable that such fictions can have been circulated in the earliest days of the Church, and written with the best of intentions. Perhaps so, but in any case, the Bunyan literature furnishes a suggestive parallel, for the imitator, in this case also, meant to complete the argument of the Great Preacher, to fill up what was lacking in his biblical theology, and generally to use the popularity of the previous writer for purposes of edification.

Students of the Pauline epistles will not need to be reminded of other cases, where the Apostle attests the genuineness of what he is writing, by some sign or token by which deceivers can be detected : he has a special signature which can be examined : in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, for example, to which reference has already been made for a warning against forgers and imitators, he takes the pen from the scribe who is writing for him and says : "I, Paul, write the greetings by my own hand. That is the sign by which you may identify every letter of mine. This is the way I write it."

Evidently there has been serious misunderstanding somewhere.

In John Bunyan's case, as we shall see presently, the deception took the form of using his initials, or the first and last letters of his name with intermediate stars. Perhaps this is what Bunyan meant by 'stitching half my name to these books to make them do.' He has to

protest that he prints his name in full, and never writes under a cipher.¹ The Pauline parallel is obvious.

Now let us come a little closer to the fictitious Bunyan literature, and apply the gentlest of critical methods, the most elementary tests of common sense working upon literature.

The best known of this group of writings is the *Third Part of the Pilgrim's Progress*. We have already seen how quickly the false *Second Part* was killed off by the appearance of 'Christiana and her sons and the lovely Mercy.' It seems that Bunyan had a vague idea of a *Third Part*, for he makes the suggestion at the end of the *Second Part* as to the possibility of his going that way again and seeing how his young people had prospered. The hint was caught up soon after his death and a *Third Part* produced. It had a very good run in a number of editions, and was frequently bound up by booksellers with the two genuine parts. A comparison of two title-pages in my possession will show that it was not till after several editions that it was admitted that the third part was, as the title-page says, 'an imposter.' Yet the argument from style ought to have settled the authorship from the start.

We have an interesting parallel in the Pauline writings ; in the epistle to the Colossians he tells them to get a copy of the epistle to Laodicea and read it (meaning, perhaps, the epistle which goes under the name of the Epistle to the Ephesians). The allusion provoked an enquiry. Demand created Supply. In a number of MSS. of the Pauline Epistles an Epistle to the Laodiceans is found incorporated. The style ought to have condemned it as a forgery at the first reading ; but we have the Bunyan parallel, and the maxim applies that it is possible, under favourable circumstances, to deceive the very elect !

Here is a little volume, without a date, but evidently from the paper and style of printing, of the eighteenth century. The title-page is at length :

¹ On the title-page of the third edition of Bunyan's Poetical Meditations upon the Last Things, which go under the name of *One Thing is Needful*, we are told 'that there are certain ballad-sellers about Newgate, and on London Bridge, who have put the two first letters of this author's name to his effigies, to their rhymes and ridiculous books, suggesting to the world as if they were his. Now know that this author publisheth his name at large to all his books ; and what you shall see otherwise he disowns.' This edition is of 1688, the year of Bunyan's death.

The
 Visions
 of
 John Bunyan :
 being
 His Last Remains :
 Giving an Account of
 The Glories of Heaven
 The Terrors of Hell
 and of
 The World to Come.

London.
 Printed for the Booksellers.

It is accompanied by a Preface to the Reader, which is signed at the end with the name of John Bunyan in full. Lest there should be any doubt as to the person intended, the writer says, near the end of the Preface that 'Since the Way to Heaven has been so taking under the similitude of a *Dream*, why should not the Journey's End be as acceptable under the similitude of a *Vision*? Nay, why should it not be more acceptable, since the End is preferable to the Means, and Heaven to the Way that brings us thither. The Pilgrim met with many difficulties, but here they are all over ; all storms and tempests here are hush'd in silence and serenity.' The allusion to the Pilgrims and to the Dream of the Way to Heaven, shows that it is our own John Bunyan who is intended for the Author. Moreover, from the allusion to the success which has attended the publication of the Progress of the Pilgrim who is spoken of in the singular, we must assume this book, if genuine, to have been written later than 1678, and perhaps earlier than 1684, when the *Second Part* was published.

The story begins by telling us autobiographically how I, whose name is Epenetus, came under the influence of a companion who held atheistic views, and contended that there was neither God nor Devil, Heaven nor Hell : when he died he designed to be buried in a field or garden if he could, that there from his ashes might spring up curious and delightful flowers, which was the utmost happiness he could propose to himself ; and should be very well satisfied to find all those spirits and powers he was now possessed of exerted in the variegated beauties of nature.' The language is a little ornate for J.B. The wicked young man further continued that 'for aught he knew in the various metempsychosis of nature, some ages hence, he might impregnate a

human body, as he believed he had done many ages past.' Here again the language is a little out of John's reach.

Epenetus, thereupon, decides to make away with himself, but is saved from the fatal step by a secret voice of one that spake to him, to whom he presently made prayer for light and leading. The prayer was answered by a vision, mixed Daniel and Dante. A Celestial being of great splendour undertakes to pilot him through Heaven and Hell, so as finally to dispel any residual tendencies to atheism or suicide.

In Heaven he meets his mother, from which it appears that Epenetus, or John Bunyan, had lost his mother by death, but that the rest of the family were still alive. Epenetus enquires whether she would like to know in what condition he left his father and his brethren, when he was carried to the celestial world. The reply is appalling : "No ! since I have put off the body I have put off all relations in the flesh : Here God, (said she) is all in all unto me, I have no husband but the blessed Bridegroom of my Soul : he who is *fairer than the children of men* : who is alone desirable to me. Nor have I here any relations else." She goes on to explain that whatever becomes of her family, she is quite content ; if they were damned, she would still rejoice.

As we were criticising for authorship, all we can make of this incident is, that the book purports to be written after the death of the mother, and before the death of any of the rest of the family.

Later on in the visions, Epenetus goes to Hell and meets a lost soul whom he recognises to be Thomas Hobbes the author of the *Leviathan*. The *Dict. of National Biography* reminds us that Hobbes was 'reviled on all sides as the typical atheist, materialist, political absolutist and preacher of ethical selfishness' ; and this description would be a valid explanation of his unhappy lot in the other world. Hobbes died in 1679 at the advanced age of 91 : so we have again a superior limit for the composition of the book, whether it be Bunyan's or not, unless we choose to assume a writer who spitefully sent Hobbes to hell in his life-time. As Bunyan died in 1688, and we have already shown from the preface that the book is later than 1678, the date of Hobbes' death agrees very well with the time suggested.

Now let us turn to the Registers of the Bunyan family. We know from the extant records that "in his sixteenth year his mother sickened and died, and within another month his sister Margaret also, the play-mate of his childhood, was carried across the fields to the same quiet grave in Elstow Churchyard. Nor was this all. Before yet another month had gone by over this twice-opened grave, his father had brought home another wife to take the vacant place."¹

It appears from this that the writer of the tract was correct in making Bunyan's mother the first of the circle to die. Possibly a cynical critic might add that there appears to be also a historical foundation for the alienation between Mrs. Bunyan and her husband : but in these matters the modern point of view differs a good deal from that of two hundred years since. We admit, then, that the tract appears to be conformed to historical reality in its affirmation concerning the priority in death of John Bunyan's mother. The question then arises when did the father die or the rest of the family, assuming that Margaret is left out of account ? The parish register at Elstow records his burial on the 7th Feb. 1676 ; accordingly we should conclude that the book before us was written at least as early as 1675. But this date is rendered impossible by the preface, which records the production of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which goes back to 1678. It follows, then, on just principles of criticism that either the preface of the book is a forgery, or perhaps the whole volume ; for the vision described makes Thomas Bunyan alive (he dying in 1675), and, as we have shown, makes Thomas Hobbes, the author of the *Leviathan*, to be dead, an event which occurred in 1679, and the *Pilgrim's Progress* to be extant, which cannot be the case before 1678. The case is now going against the author and his publisher. It cannot be Bunyan.

When we come to the end of the book the writer relates how he took pen and ink and wrote down the Visions, which he had seen, subjoining thereto the 'Poems following on Heaven and Hell.' After which he recites a doxology and invokes a blessing on the book.

When we turn the page to see the Poems which are subjoined, we find that the first is described as

A Prospect of Heaven.

¹ John Brown, *Life of Bunyan*, p. 41.

It begins :

There is a Land of Pure Delight.

It is an adaptation of the best known of Dr. Watts' Hymns : and the second, whose title is like unto it,

A Prospect of Hell,

is from the same source : it contains the familiar lines,

Fear (Far) in the deep where darkness dwells,
Great horror and despair,
Justice has built a dismal hell,
And stores up vengeance there.

The Higher Criticism inquires whether John Bunyan who died in 1688 can really have been familiar with Watts' Hymn Book, and concludes in favour of a non-Bunyan authorship somewhere in the eighteenth century ; and later than 1706 when Watts began to publish. It need scarcely be said that the book is condemned to the same non-authorship by every consideration of style.

Now for the verification of the results of criticism. In Mr. Offor's Library, which was destroyed by fire at the time when it was on sale by Sotheby, there was a copy of this very book. Its title was

The World to come. The Glories of Heaven
and the terrors of Hell. Lively Display'd under
the similitude of a vision by G. L.

To this was prefixed a frontispiece, a copper plate, representing Bunyan as in a dream. The title bore the date 1711. Mr. Offor had identified the author with George Larkin. What is interesting is to watch the gradual assertion of the Bunyan authorship. It began by borrowing a plate from the *Pilgrim's Progress*. A second copy in the catalogue of the same sale carries the appropriation of authorship a step further, and replaces Larkin's initials by J.B. The copy dated 1711 is apparently the *editio princeps*. At that date, it was quite easy to appropriate the newly published hymns of Isaac Watts.

Our next experiment in criticism is concerned with a very interesting volume whose title is as follows :—

THE
ADVANTAGES
AND
DISADVANTAGES
OF THE
MARRIED-STATE
as enter'd into with
Religious or Irreligious Persons,
Delivered under the Similitude of a
DREAM
with NOTES explanatory and Improving.
by J. B * * * * N. Minister of the Gospel.
The Sixth Edition, with Additions of New
CUTS.

BOSWORTH

Printed by ROBERT GRIMLEY, for the Author ;
and sold by Mr. WARD and Mrs. POOLE in
Hinkley, Mrs. JANE NEWBERRY in Hugglescoat,
and most Booksellers in the Country.

Printed in the year MDCCLXXV.

I have given the title-page in full from my own copy, as there is no copy of this edition in the British Museum, nor any copy at all except a late Kilmarnock reprint of the year 1826. Mr. Offor had a copy which was complete, whereas mine was imperfect : he describes it in his edition of Bunyan's *Works* (iii. 65). This copy, which probably perished in the fire which destroyed his valuable Bunyan collection, had a conventional Frontispiece, taken from an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* which shows that the cipher on the title-page was meant to be filled up with the letters of Bunyan's name. Mr. Offor says : 'The Frontispiece is the Sleeping Portrait in the Lion's Den, with skull and cross-bones ; above are the Pilgrim with his burden, and the Wicket-gate ; under this is inscribed John Bunyan of Bedford.'

Mr. Offor adds : 'It was impudent enough to publish this for the author in 1775,' but perhaps this is too severe on the Bosworth printer, who may have taken over the words 'for the Author' from an earlier edition. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement that this is the sixth edition. If this is a false Bunyan it had a good run in its time. When we turn to the Kilmarnock edition in the British Museum, we find the Bunyan authorship got rid of by the

addition of the word 'Jun,' *i.e.* John Bunyan the Younger. The title now runs

The advantages, etc. etc.
under the similitude of a Dream

Improved and amended by John Bunyan Jun.
Kilmarnock.
Printed by H. Crawford, Bookseller,
1826.

(This edition also removes all the 'margents' which are an excellent imitation of Bunyan, and are so characteristic of the early editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.)

We can use the Kilmarnock edition, if necessary, to complete our own copy, but we will begin with the latter, as lying nearer to the original by some 50 years.

The theme of the book is the problem of mixed marriages ; that subject which engrossed the attention of Ezra the reformer and his friends, when they returned from captivity, and found that racial purity had been corrupted by exile. The spiritual analogy to this problem appears in the New Testament Epistles, which show much care and concern that marriage shall only be in the Lord, and lay down general warnings against alliance between believer and unbeliever. In this sense the problem is with us still, ever vital and seldom spoken to. Probably it was the form in which the difficulty presented itself to the exiles from Babylon, which suggested to our author the similitude of his dream. He lays its foundation in Babylon (illustrated by a marvellous woodcut), and the hero of the piece is introduced to us as planning to journey to Canaan, and seeking for himself a companion (of the opposite sex) for the journey thither. The first part of the book might be described as Ghastly Failure. He surrenders to the wrong girl, a mere Babylonian.

"He met with one who appeared compliable to his desire, tho' she had no knowledge of the way nor any desire to it, only it seemed a matter indifferent, and therefore, as he was inclined to undertake the journey, she would condescend and compliment him with her company." The writer explains the slow progress they made in a journey which one of them was undertaking without any serious intention, how they loitered, wasted their time over trifles, sat down in the shade (a wood-

cut assists us to the understanding of this), and finally reached the River Euphrates, were overtaken by a sudden rise in the river, and swept away. The margin explains to us that the loitering means Old Age, and the Euphrates is Death.

We are now introduced to a second hero, the younger brother, who has the same problem to solve, and who also is entrapped by a Babylonian. He does his best to bring his companion to the same view of life as himself but he found, ‘when he attempted to lead her into the way, that she had no Feet, she could not move a step further than he carried her, and a heavy Burthen she proved !’ A very Bunyanesque passage follows in which the distaste of the companion for the things of the Spirit is brought out :—

‘If he met with any Gardens of Spices or refreshing Springs on the way, he would offer her to eat or drink with him, but she had no Taste. If he found Sweet Flowers, he would pluck, and give them to her ; but she had no smell, nor could have any delight in them. If he had any delightful prospects by the way, he would endeavour to show them to his companion, but she had no eyes. If he met with any Fellow or Traveller by the way he would invite her to enjoy their Company, but she was never sociable with himself or any other person who spoke the language of Canaan ; for it was a language which she could not Learn.’ Poor Lad ! at this point a page is missing in my copy. It appears they came to the Jordan, and he made ready to cross. Just as he was landing on Canaan’s shore, he turned back, and saw her sitting on the sand on the further shore ; and beheld the ‘River returning with such an overflow, as carried her along the rapid Stream, into the Dead Sea.’

That shows a knowledge of geography, at all events. A woodcut again assists the imagination. Thus ends Part I.

Part II. introduces an elder brother, who has the same problem in life. He is much attracted by the superior culture of the Babylonish maids, and holds a long dialogue with himself, which in many respects is quite in the Bunyan manner. He asks himself in the end whether he might not be an Instrument to engage the Mind of such a Maid of Babylon to walk the Blessed Way. The answer is Calvinistic in its severity. We learn that

‘All the accomplishments that a Person can possibly receive from *Babylon* can never prepare, qualify, nor dispose them for travelling to

Canaan; nor will it by any means induce or incline any person to receive the real Knowledge or Love of that Country.

‘(The Margin explains, That is of the Earth is still earthly, however refined by Art and Industry.)

‘Those who are not powerfully called by the King’s Commandment and inwardly attracted by a vital Influence, can never be engaged by any other Motive or persuasion whatsoever, for there is nothing in the Nature of a *Babylonian* (without the Inchoation of new Principles) that is capable of attraction.’

Here the writer has given John Bunyan away, whom he had been imitating very closely. Did John ever talk about the ‘Inchoation of new Principles?’ Surely he would have said plain ‘Beginning’ or some word of equal simplicity. My friend, whoever you are, and in spite of your six editions, you can hardly be John Bunyan the Tinker.

Well! the young man breaks away from the tempting culture and grace of feminine Babylon, and presently by good hap and as God wot, he met a young virgin going the same way as himself, who had also broken with the Frauds and Jealousies of Babylon, and as they got into conversation, ‘their affections began to grow warm towards one another: it was a very comfortable Interview, and their minds were refreshed by each other’s conversation. He began to think that they might be pleasing and profitable companions all the Way.’ He found out that she was a King’s daughter and travelling to the Royal Palace. (An attached woodcut at this point appears to suggest the King’s Palace, under the form of a very average tenement: the Lovers are well depicted.)

The story then turns to Love-making and Love made. Some of it is very pretty and again quite Bunyan-like. Their mutual converse in spiritual things is well described:—

“If one found a refreshing Spring by the Way, would call the other to come and drink. If one found any refreshing fruit, sweet Spices, or delightful Flowers, would pluck and bring to the other. If one heard any Joyful Tidings, would come rejoicing and tell the other. If one had any pleasant prospects of the Kingdom, would come rejoicing and tell the other. (A woodcut now advises us of a hill with a look-out station and a tower, from which they see all Babylon in flames of burning pitch, and bless themselves for their fortune in having escaped from the doomed city.)

The last scene of all brings them to Jordan's banks, and a hill of vision, from which they view the landscape o'er. A woodcut again assists us to see how they rested in a delightful arbour, and how they climbed Prospect Hill and saw *Jerusalem*, the royal palace, the goodly mountain of Lebanon, etc. Then they looked down below where Jordan roll'd between, and beheld the great High Priest in His shining robes waiting to carry them over. The ecstasy of that vision and the songs of the saints that broke on their ears, became to the writer the psychic shock which made him awake ; and behold ! it was a Dream. So ends the tale. (A woodcut attempts to express the attained Felicity.)

It is clear from the style of the work that it is meant to be Bunyan, and sometimes the tale is not unworthy of the suggested author, but—'inchoation of new principles,' No, my friend !

On the back page of the little book the Bosworth printer has advertised a long list of Buniana, from the *Pilgrim's Progress* onward. In the course of his catalogue another Pseudo-Bunyan turns up, without any mark of suspicion : it is called

Heart's Ease—Heart's Trouble or a Sovereign
Remedy against all Troubles of the Heart.

There is a copy of this in the Rylands Library ;¹ it is the work of James Burwood, but is attributed to John Bunyan and has his portrait prefixed. It is a Sermon of a very diffuse kind on John xvi. 1 : 'Let not your heart be troubled.' It seems to have been published under the initials of the author, which easily led to confusion with Bunyan. It is absolutely unlike to Bunyan's style, and quite undeserving of serious study, or of a place among the Pseudo-Bunyan literature.²

¹ The copy in Mr. Offor's Library was described as a 12mo, under date 1691, and was said to be the second edition. The author was J.B. and must have been a contemporary of Bunyan.

² In Calamy's *Account of the Ejected Ministers* (ii. p. 220) we read as follows :—

Dartmouth. Petrocks. Mr. John Burdwood.

"He dy'd in the same town where he was ejected, after he had endured the most exquisite torment by the Strangury ; which made him the more able to pen those books which are called *Heart's-Ease* and *Helps for Faith and Repentance in Times of Affliction*."

Thus the authorship is clear, and it is only the initials (J.B.) that led to misunderstanding, and caused some booksellers to think they had, or could persuade that they had, a work by John Bunyan.

We have now shown that the literature of our own people furnishes striking instances of well-intentioned religious forgeries, and of imitations which are, from our point of view in modern days, really dishonest. Books covered themselves, and sometimes their nakedness, with the shadow of great names. Sometimes they started out to say what the great man who was imitated ought to have said, and would have said if he had thought of it. And this pseudonymous literature is sometimes contemporary with the writer who is plagiarised or imitated, and has to be put under a publisher's or author's ban. It is the business of the Higher Criticism to decide all these questions of authorship and of originality. The study of an out-of-the-way corner of literature, like that which we have been engaged in, will help us to settle some Biblical and post-Biblical questions, such as the authenticity and date of Daniel, or of Enoch ; the authorship of the Peter-apocalypse, and some parts of the Clementine literature, the question of the canonical second epistle of Peter and the like. We may, at all events, familiarise ourselves with the methods of criticism, and see to it that those dreadful higher critics are not allowed to employ on sacred pages methods which would not be tolerated in literature of a non-Biblical character, belonging to other times and places of production. If, by using lawful methods and making proper inductions from observed facts, they can persuade us as to the authorship of books upon which they turn their searchlights, whether they decide for or against their genuineness or their integrity, we shall submit to the persuasion.

- THUMB (A.). The Modern Greek and his Ancestry. 1914. 8vo, pp. 27.
- TOUT (T. F.), M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A. The Captivity and Death of Edward of Carnarvon. 1920. Pp. 49. 2s.
- The English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century. 1916. 8vo, pp. 32.
 - Mediæval and Modern Warfare. 1919. 8vo, pp. 28.
 - A Mediæval Burglary. 1915. 8vo, pp. 24. With illustrations.
 - Mediæval Forgers and Forgeries. 1920. 8vo, pp. 31.
 - Mediæval Town Planning. 1917. 8vo, pp. 35. With 11 illustrations. 2s.
 - The Place of St. Thomas of Canterbury in History. 1921. Pp. 32. 1s. 6d.
 - Some Conflicting Tendencies in English Administrative History in the Fourteenth Century, 1924. Pp. 28. 1s. 6d.
 - The Study of Mediæval Chronicles. 1922. Pp. 32. 1s. 6d.
- SMITH (G. ELLIOT), M.A., M.D., F.R.S., etc. The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilisation in the East and in America. 1916. Pp. 32. With 7 illustrations.
- WILKINSON (B.), M.A. The Authorisation of Chancery Writs under Edward III. 1924. Pp. 34. 1s. 6d.
- A Letter to Louis de Male, Count of Flanders. 1925. Pp. 8. With facsimile.
 - WILLARD (JAMES F.), M.A. An Early Exchequer Tally. 1923. Pp. 10. With illustrations.

LITERARY.

- ALEXANDER (S.), LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A. Molière and Life. 1926. Pp. 21.
- CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES (EARL OF), K.T. Dante as Artist. 1926. Pp. 27.
- John Lyly. 1924. Pp. 36. 1s. 6d.
 - FAWTIER (ROBERT), D. ès L. La Correspondance de la Marquise d'Huxelles et du Marquis de la Garde. 1925. Pp. 44. With facsimile. 1s. 6d.
 - HERFORD (C. H.), M.A., Litt.D., etc. Gabriele d'Annunzio. 1920. Pp. 27.
 - Dante and Milton. 1924. Pp. 36. 1s. 6d.
 - Lessing. 1923. Pp. 22.
 - The Mind of Post-War Germany. 1926. Pp. 47. 1s. 6d.
 - National and International Ideals in the English Poets. 1916. Pp. 24.
 - Norse Myth in English Poetry. 1919. Pp. 31.
 - The Poetry of Lucretius. 1918. Pp. 26.
 - Recent Tendencies in European Poetry. 1921. Pp. 27.
 - A Russian Shakespearean : a Centenary Study. 1925. Pp. 30. 1s. 6d.
 - Shakespeare and the Arts. 1927. Pp. 13.
 - A Sketch of the History of Shakespeare's Influence on the Continent. 1925. Pp. 48. 1s. 6d.
 - Some Approaches to Religion through Poetry during the past Two Generations. 1922. Pp. 33.
 - William Blake. 1928. Pp. 16.
 - GUPPY (HENRY), M.A., D.Ph. et Litt. A Brief Sketch of the Life and Times of Shakespeare. With a Chronological Table of the principal Events. 1916. Pp. 30. With frontispiece.
 - A Brief Summary of the History of the "First-Folio" Edition of Shakespeare's Dramas. 1923. Pp. 24. 5 illustrations.
 - Dante Alighieri, 1321-1921. An appreciation, in commemoration of the Six-hundredth Anniversary of the Poet's Death. Pp. 13. With 3 facsimiles.
 - Stepping Stones to the Art of Typography. 1928. Pp. 45 and 14 facsimiles. 2s.
 - POEL (WILLIAM). Prominent Points in the Life and Writings of Shakespeare. Arranged in four tables. 1919. Pp. 12.
 - Some Notes on Shakespeare's Stage and Plays. 1916. Pp. 16. With 3 illustrations.
 - ROBERTS (W. WRIGHT), B.A. Music in Shakespeare. 1923. Pp. 14.
 - VAUGHAN (C. E.). Giambattista Vico : an 18th century pioneer. 1921. Pp. 23.
 - Goethe and Hugo. 1926. Pp. 30. 1s. 6d.
 - WESTON (JESSIE L.), D.Litt. The Apple Mystery in Arthurian Romance. 1925. Pp. 14.

THEOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

- BUCKLE (D. P.), M.A. The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. A Study of Hagiographic Development. 1921. Pp. 9. With 4 facsimiles.
- CALDER (W. M.), M.A. Philadelphia and Montanism. 1923. Pp. 46. With 3 illustrations. 1s. 6d.
- Some Monuments of the Great Persecution. 1924. Pp. 20. 1s. 6d. With illustrations.
 - COOKE (ALICE M.), M.A. A Study in Twelfth Century Revival and Reform. 1925. Pp. 40. 1s. 6d.
 - FARQUHAR (J. N.), M.A., Litt.D. The Fighting Ascetics of India. 1925. Pp. 22.
 - The Apostle Thomas in North India. 1926. Pp. 34. 1s. 6d.
 - The Apostle Thomas in South India. 1927. Pp. 33. 1s. 6d.

- GUPPY (HENRY), M.A., D.Ph. et Litt. John Bunyan. 1628. November, 1928 : His Life, Times, and Writings. 1928. Pp. 12 and 1 facsimile.
- William Tindale and the Earlier Translators of the Bible into English. 1925. Pp. 50. With 12 facsimiles. 1s. 6d.
- HARRIS (J. RENDEL), Litt.D., D.Theol., etc. Metrical Fragments in iii Maccabees. 1920. Pp. 13.
- Athena, Sophia, and the Logos. 1922. Pp. 17.
- Celsus and Aristides. 1921. Pp. 13.
- Marcion's Book of Contradictions. 1921. Pp. 21.
- A New Christian Apology. 1923. Pp. 36. 1s. 6d.
- The Quest of Quadratus. 1924. Pp. 14. 1s. 6d.
- Sources of Barlaam and Joasaph. 1925. Pp. 12.
- Stoic Origins of the Fourth Gospel. 1922. Pp. 13.
- Tatian: Perfection according to the Saviour. 1924. Pp. 42. 1s. 6d.
- HOSKIER (H. C.). Manuscripts of the Apocalypse : Recent Investigations. Part I. 1922. Pp. 20. With 5 facsimiles. Part II. 1923. Part III. 1923. Parts IV. and V. 1924.
- MINGANA (A.), D.D. Synopsis of Christian Doctrine in the Fourth Century according to Theodore of Mopsuestia. 1920. Pp. 21.
- An Ancient Syriac Translation of the Kur'an exhibiting New Verses and Variants. 1925. Pp. 50. With 18 pp. of facsimiles. 2s.
- The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East : a New Document. 1925. Pp. 80. 2s.
- The Early Spread of Christianity in India. 1926. Pp. 82. 2s.
- Remarks on Tabari's Semi-official Defence of Islam. 1925. Pp. 6.
- Syriac Influence on the style of the Kur'an. 1927. Pp. 24. 1s. 6d.
- PEAKE (A. S.), M.A., D.D., etc. Elijah and Jezebel : the conflict with the Tyrian Baal. 1927. Pp. 28. 1s. 6d.
- The Quintessence of Paulinism. 1917-18. Pp. 31.
- The Messiah and the Son of Man. 1924. Pp. 32. 1s. 6d.
- Recent Developments in Old Testament Criticism. 1928. Pp. 31. 1s. 6d.
- The Roots of Hebrew Prophecy and Jewish Apocalyptic. 1923. Pp. 22.
- The Movement of Old Testament Scholarship in the Nineteenth Century. Synopsis of a Lecture in the John Rylands Library on Nov. 11, 1903. With some leading Dates in Pentateuch Criticism. 1903. Pp. 8.
- Bibliographical Notes for the Study of the Old Testament. 1913. Pp. 7.
- Bibliographical Notes for Students of the New Testament. 1914. Pp. 10.
- POWICKE (FREDERICK J.), M.A., Ph.D. A Puritan Idyll ; or, Richard Baxter's Love Story. 1917. Pp. 35.
- The Reverend Richard Baxter's last treatise copied from the MS. in Dr. Williams' Library and edited. With Introduction by G. Unwin. 1926. Pp. 60. 2s.
- Richard Baxter and the Countess of Balcarres (1621 ?-1706 ?). 1925. Pp. 15.
- The Story and Significance of the Rev. Richard Baxter's "Saints' everlasting rest". 1920. Pp. 35. With frontispiece.
- SNEYDERS DE VOGEL (K.). Quelques Observations sur le Texte Latin du Codex Bezae. 1924. Pp. 6.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- ALEXANDER (S.), LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A. Art and Nature. 1927. Pp. 17.
- CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES (EARL OF), K.T. The Soul of Cities. 1925. Pp. 26.
- JAMES HOPE MOULTON, 1863-1917. 1. A Biographical Sketch, with some Account of his Literary Legacies. By W. Fiddian Moulton, M.A. 2. A Record of Professor J. H. Moulton's Work, with some explanation of its significance. By A. S. Peake, M.A., D.D. 3. Letter from Dr. Rendel Harris to the Rev. W. Fiddian Moulton. 1917. Pp. 18. With portrait.
- CHARLTON (H. B.), M.A. A List of the Writings of Prof. C. E. Vaughan. Portrait. 1923. Pp. 12.
- ESSEN (L. VAN DER). La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain. . . . Steps towards the reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain. [By H. Guppy.] 1915. Pp. 16.
- GUPPY (HENRY), M.A., D.Ph. et Litt. Suggestions for the Cataloguing of Incunabula. 1924. Pp. 12.
- The Reconstruction of the Library of the University of Louvain : Great Britain's Contribution, 1914-1925. 1926. Pp. 49. 1s. 6d.
- HARRIS (J. RENDEL), Litt.D., D.Theol., etc. Glass Chalices of the First Century. 1927. Pp. 10 and 4 plates. 1s. 6d.
- The Woodpecker in Human Form. 1920. Pp. 17.
- RIVERS (W. H. R.), M.D., D.Sc., etc. Dreams and Primitive Culture. 1917-18. Pp. 28.
- Mind and Medicine. Second edition. 1920. Pp. 23.

Date Due

Ag 17 44

MAR 27 1978

JUN 9 1978

Due 31 18

JUN 15 1994

MAR 31 1989



PR3332.H31
John Bunyan and higher criticism,

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00028 0836